

VU Research Portal

Grand, elite and street-level ethics and integrity in the security sector: A theoretical framework

Huberts, L.W.J.C.

published in

Ethics and Security
2010

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

Huberts, L. W. J. C. (2010). Grand, elite and street-level ethics and integrity in the security sector: A theoretical framework. In M. den Boer, & E. Kolthoff (Eds.), *Ethics and Security* (pp. 189-206). Eleven International.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl

9 Grand, Elite and Street-level Ethics and Integrity in the Security Sector: A Theoretical Framework

Leo Huberts¹

9.1 Introduction

Ethics and integrity, as well as security and safety, have become important topics in myriad social spheres, bringing the two together is a challenging and complex endeavour. This chapter first outlines a number of concepts, approaches, and research findings on public integrity and ethics and then relates them to the discourse on security and ethics that is a major topic of this book. Drawing particularly on the research of the Research Group on Ethics and Integrity of Governance at VU University Amsterdam,² this chapter addresses several topics and questions central to the inquiry into ethics and integrity in politics and administration, both national and international. What is the meaning of such central concepts as ethics, integrity, morality, values, and corruption? How can the relationship between ethics and integrity be understood? Which types of ethics and integrity violations can be distinguished? International attention for ethics is increasing, but the focus generally tends to be on corruption or on what goes wrong in governance. However, elaborating the concepts makes clear that corruption is often interpreted very broadly in terms of lack of integrity or unethical conduct. Likewise, further reflection on the relation between ethics and integrity, while also addressing the wide variety of topics covered in this book, increases attention to such different aspects of the policy process as the content of policy-making and policy implementation, and the conduct of the actors therein. Reflection on these topics leads to a framework for the study of ethics and integrity, which is illustrated by reference to the military and police sector.

1 The author is very grateful for the help of many, in particular the editors, the corrector (Dr. J.) and the reviewers (stressing the importance of focus on the 'take home message').

2 See www.fsw.vu/integriteit and the websites of the researchers mentioned.

Failing to distinguish between ethics and integrity and between policy-making and implementation, as discourses to date have tended to do, limits potential progress in many interesting subfields of study. A number of those fields will be addressed:

- grand ethics: the content of security and safety policies;
- policy elite ethics and integrity (versus ‘grand’ corruption): the integrity and integrity violations of the policy elite in the sector;
- implementation of ethics and street-level integrity: the ethics of the street-level implementation of security and safety policies and the integrity of implementers (police and military professionals);
- the relationship between the types of ethics and integrity at the different levels of policy-making and policy implementation (as well as the relationship between the levels).

9.2 Growing Attention for Integrity and Ethics³

The importance of integrity and ethics has increased in many social sectors (Cooper, 2001; Huberts, Jurkiewicz, & Maesschalck, 2008; Johnston, 2005; Lawton & Doig, 2006; Menzel, 2005). Attention to the topic has been greatest in the public sector. However, there is also growing interest in the business sector, as exemplified by recent discussions on the causes of the financial and economic crisis, particularly the decisions (and greed) of bankers and businessmen intent on maximizing their self-interest (Stiglitz, 2010). If corruption is defined as ‘the abuse of entrusted power for private benefit’, such selfish irresponsibility could be interpreted as corruption and thus white collar crime (Pope, 2000).

On a global scale, not only has there been increased attention to issues of ethics and integrity in politics, administration, economy, and society, but good governance appears to be back on the agenda of politicians, administrators, managers, interest groups, the citizenry, and members of the research community in general (Huberts et al., 2008; Smith, 2007). Such renewed interest has possibly resulted from the many corruption scandals occurring in a number of countries over the last two decades. For example, the Italian political party system imploded in the early 1990s because of revelations of corruption, as did the regimes of Marcos in the Philippines, Suharto in Indonesia (Klitgaard, 1988; Rose-Ackerman, 1999). Not only was the so-called developed world far from free of corruption scandals, but corruption also increased significantly in many transitional countries (those moving from communist to more market- and democracy-oriented systems), such as Bulgaria and Romania⁴ (Cox, 2009;

³ Based on Huberts, Jurkiewicz, & Maesschalck, 2008.

⁴ See, for example, EU information on the two countries: www.euractiv.com/en/justice/romania-bulgaria-warned-slow-anti-corruption-efforts/article-170094 (May 4, 2010).

Johnson, 2004; Andrei, Matei & Rosca 2009). Not surprisingly, a number of global and international institutions have made increasing efforts to tackle this problem in a more strategic and comprehensive manner. In fact, international organisations – including the United Nations, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), the Council of Europe (particularly, GRECO: the Group of States against Corruption), the European Union and Interpol, and non-governmental organisations such as Transparency International (Bossaert & Demmke 2005; Huberts et al., 2008) – have demonstrated a growing commitment to fighting corruption and safeguarding integrity through an extensive framework of conventions, rules, monitoring guidelines, and sanctions.

One of the most important players in the international field of anti-corruption and integrity is the United Nations, whose General Assembly, in 1997, accepted a Resolution on Corruption and adopted an International Code of Conduct for Public Officials. This effort was expanded into a UN Convention against Corruption that came into force in December 2005 to be overseen and evaluated by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). As United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan said in his statement on the UN General Assembly's adoption of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC): 'Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid'.⁵

Specifically, this convention outlines the values to be promoted among public officials, policies for prevention, and legal remedies for violations, and includes a clause promoting asset recovery from individuals convicted of using public funds for personal gain. The first of these is codified in the UN Code of Conduct for Public Officials, which sets forth such guidelines as the following: 'A public office is a position of trust, implying a duty to act in the public interest'; 'Public officials shall ensure that they perform their duties and functions efficiently, effectively and with integrity, in accordance with laws or administrative policies'; and 'Public officials shall be attentive, fair and impartial in the performance of their functions and, in particular, in their relations with the public. They shall at no time afford any undue preferential treatment to any group or individual or improperly discriminate against any group or individual, or otherwise abuse the power and authority vested in them'. Other articles of this code cover conflicts of interest, disclosure of assets, acceptance of gifts or other favours, the handling of confidential information, and engagement in political activities. However, being a rather optimistic initiative, this collective UN effort was later tempered in the face of problems surrounding UNCAC implementation. As a result, despite general agree-

5 The full text of the convention is available at www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption.html.

ment that an effective review mechanism is needed to ensure government implementation of such measures, a small number of governments has been blocking agreement on issues such as visits from other governments' review teams.⁶

One clear implication of the brief review above is that, although international attention to the ethics and integrity of governance is increasing, the focus until now has been on what goes wrong in governance and particularly on corruption. There does, however, appear to be a slowly growing awareness that issues of integrity and ethics of government and governance encompass aspects beyond curbing and sanctioning corruption. This recognition fits into an even broader agenda of fundamental discussion about what constitutes good governance: one that reflects the principles of integrity, democracy, effectiveness, and lawfulness (Bovens, 't Hart, van Twist, & Rosenthal, 2001) and takes into account that the quality of governance seems crucial for social and economic development. Hence, 'Governance Matters' is a central maxim of the World Bank (Heidenheimer & Johnston 2002; Kaufmann, Kraay, & Mastruzzi, 2009).

9.3 Ethics, Integrity, and Corruption

What, however, is the exact meaning of such related concepts as integrity, values, morals, ethics, and corruption, and how should they be defined? The following section provides brief definitions as a basis for the framework that underpins our analysis (Huberts et al., 2008; Six, de Bakker & Huberts, 2007).

Integrity is generally viewed as a characteristic or quality of compliance with the relevant moral values and norms. For example, public officials act with integrity if their conduct is in harmony or accordance with relevant moral values and norms (including laws and rules). However, which values, norms, laws, and rules are *relevant* depends on the context. Moreover, even though individuals are the obvious agents that can act with or without integrity, this characteristic or quality can also be applied to other 'objects'. That is, whereas very specific individual conduct can be judged in terms of integrity (e.g., arresting a suspect, falsifying documents to boost profits, drunken driving, and smoking marihuana), the object can also be a group, organisation, or even a society. Hence, when relevant moral values and norms can be distinguished for such an object, integrity judgments can occur and the group, organisation, or society may be seen to lack integrity, for example when its leaders and members abuse power and appear corruptible.

6 See www.transparency.org/global_priorities/international_conventions (Transparency International), as well as the UN website www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption/index.html?ref=menuaside (Global Programme against Corruption, UN Office on Drugs and Crime, Vienna).

A *value* is a belief or quality that contributes to judgments about what is good, right, beautiful, or admirable, and thus weights the choice of action by both individuals and collectives (Van Der Wal, 2008). It is therefore less specific than a *norm*, which signals whether something is good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful or ugly. For conduct, norms answer the question ‘what is the correct thing to do?’ Nevertheless, not all values and norms are relevant for integrity judgements, because integrity is not concerned with what is beautiful (aesthetics), what is conventional (etiquette), or what works (technology). Hence, our discussion concentrates on ‘moral’ norms and values. *Moral* refers to what is right or wrong or good or bad and therefore involves the values and norms people feel rather strongly about, usually because they are important for the community to which they belong (i.e. there is a claim to more general validity and conformity). Thus, the terms ‘morality’ and ‘ethics’ are both used to refer to what is right or wrong or good or bad, and the terms ‘ethical’ and ‘moral’ are often used interchangeably (Cox, 2009; Frederickson & Ghore, 2005; Lawton & Doig, 2006; Thompson, 1995). Nevertheless, some scholars see morals as referring to the principles of right and wrong and *ethics* as the study of those principles. Whichever the definition, these ideas depend heavily on the concept of *wrong*, under which rubric corruption usually falls.

Corruption, whether defined broadly or narrowed down to such actions as bribery, refers to the misuse of authority to gain the favours or benefits offered by external parties with an interest in past, present, or future decision-making. Hence, much of the public debate, policy-making, and theory development in ethics on an international level is focused on the concept of corruption rather than on ethics or integrity. Understanding this focus requires recognition of its enormously varied definitions, as exemplified by the delimitation of the Interpol Group of Experts on Corruption (IGEC),⁷ which encompasses several types of integrity violation:

- The solicitation or acceptance, whether directly or indirectly, by a police officer or other employee of a police force/service of any money, article of value, gift, favour, promise, reward or advantage, whether for himself/herself or for any person, group or entity, in return for any act or omission already done or omitted or to be done or omitted in the future in or in connection with the performance of any function of or connected with policing.
- The offering or granting, whether directly or indirectly, to a police officer or other employee of a police force/service of any money, article of value, gift, favour, promise, reward or advantage for the police officer or other employee or for any person, group or entity in return for any act or omission already done or omitted or to be done or omitted in the future in or in connection with the performance of any function of or connected with policing.

7 www.interpol.int/Public/Corruption/Standard/Default.asp; also about police corruption: Punch, 2009.

- Any act or omission in the discharge of duties by a police officer or other employee of a police force/service which may improperly expose any person to a charge or conviction for a criminal offence or may improperly assist in a person not being charged with or being acquitted of a criminal offence.
- The unauthorised dissemination of confidential or restricted police information whether for reward or otherwise.
- Any act or omission in the discharge of duties by a police officer or other employee of a police force/service for the purpose of obtaining any money, article of value, gift, favour, promise, reward or advantage for himself/herself or any other person, group or entity.
- Any act or omission which constitutes corruption under a law of the Member State.
- Participation as a principal, co-principal, initiator, instigator, accomplice, accessory before the fact, accessory after the fact, conspirator or in any other manner in the commission or attempted commission of any act referred to in the preceding provisions of this Article.

In general, when integrity involves harmony and consistency with the relevant moral values and norms ('right' rather than 'wrong'), any judgment must take into account the conduct that is violating that moral framework. Hence, our VU research team analysed the relevant literature on police integrity and corruption (e.g., Alatas, 1990; Benaissa, 1993; Caiden, 1988; Heidenheimer, Johnston, & Levine 1989; Klitgaard, 1988), evaluated it against the results of empirical research on internal police force investigations, and developed a typology for categorising integrity violations (Huberts, Pijl, & Steen, 1999). This typology, which was subsequently adapted and validated by Lasthuizen (2008), explicitly incorporates violations of the law, violations of moral norms and values (both formal and informal), and functional violations within an organisation, including off-duty misconduct, activities that serve private personal interests, and misconduct in favour of the organisation ('noble cause corruption') (Lamboo 2005). It also clearly defines corruption to include the promising, giving, asking, or receiving of personal benefits or favours that influence or are meant to influence the decisions of a public functionary and that introduce improper private interests into the decision-making process.

Specifically, the typology distinguishes 10 types of violations:⁸ corruption (bribing, favouritism by supervisors, favouritism by employees), fraud, theft, conflict of interest (through gifts or jobs), improper use of authority, misuse and manipulation of information, indecent treatment of colleagues or citizens and customers (discrimination, sexual harassment, other indecent treatment), waste and abuse of organisational resources, and private time misconduct. For every type of integrity violation, more or

8 Also see Kolthoff (2007) and his chapter in this book.

less serious forms of conduct are distinguishable, dependant on their distance from the norms and values. For example, the amount of private gain or money involved in bribery can vary enormously and sexual harassment can range from a sexist remark to rape. Not only is corruption in the form of bribery a crime in many countries, as conduct that violates the relevant moral values and norms, it is generally considered a serious *integrity violation*. Nevertheless, what is seen as a violation depends on the relevant norms and values and thus on the context (in time and place).

<i>Integrity</i> : characteristic or quality that refers to accordance with the relevant moral values and norms.
<i>Relevant</i> : valid within the context.
<i>Moral</i> : characteristic of right or wrong, good or bad (general and unavoidable).
<i>Morals</i> : the collection of moral values and norms which provides a framework for judging and acting.
<i>Ethics</i> <div> 1 synonymous with morals; 2 the systematic reflection on morality. </div>
<i>Value</i> : belief or quality that contributes to judgments about what is good, right, beautiful or admirable.
<i>Norm</i> : prescription on what is correct in a certain situation.
<i>Integrity violation</i> : conduct that violates the relevant moral values and norms
<i>Corruption</i> : the abuse of authority (both in the private and public sectors) to gain private benefits (offered by external parties with an interest).

Table 9.1 Summary of the Main Concepts

9.4 Ethics and Integrity

The exact relation between ‘ethics’ and ‘integrity’ is a confusing one for several reasons. First, clear and consistent usage of the concept of integrity and its relation to ethics is hindered by the fact the English noun ‘integrity’ lacks an adjective equivalent to the Dutch *integer*, French *intègre*, and German *integer*. It is therefore common to speak about the integrity of a politician or a police officer but very unusual to refer (like Carter, 1996) to an integer person, politician, or police officer. The result is a marked preference for such phrases as ‘ethical conduct’ rather than ‘integer conduct’. Another contributing factor is people’s tendency to connect ethics (and its implicit connotations) with the ‘basics’ of policy but ‘integrity’ with actual behaviour. For example, although it seems quite natural to judge a policy on ethics (in terms of right or wrong, good or bad), when assessing the conduct of politicians and civil servants, we find integrity the most appropriate yardstick. We then talk, for example, about the

integrity of a president or the lack of integrity of the Houses of Parliament in the UK (e.g., the expenses scandal).

To bring some conceptual clarity to this confusion, Figure 9.1 outlines a view on the relationship between ethics and integrity. Here, *policy ethics*, which addresses the ethical aspects of policy and decision content, focuses on the ‘goodness’ and or ‘badness’ of the output or outcome of policy- and decision-making processes. Scholars in the enormously broad field of policy ethics tend to reflect on such life and death topics as abortion and euthanasia, medical care, nuclear energy, war and peace, biodiversity, food safety (genetic manipulation), and human stem cell research. Ethics, however, is also present in other policy areas, although it may be a less explicit part of decision-making. For instance, politicians, public servants and researchers seem reluctant to discuss infrastructure and road-building policies in terms of ethics rather than technicalities. Yet this refusal ignores the fact that policy choices about traffic safety explicitly deal with life and death and the value of a person’s life, economic or otherwise (i.e., investment in safety costs money, but how much is a human life worth?)⁹

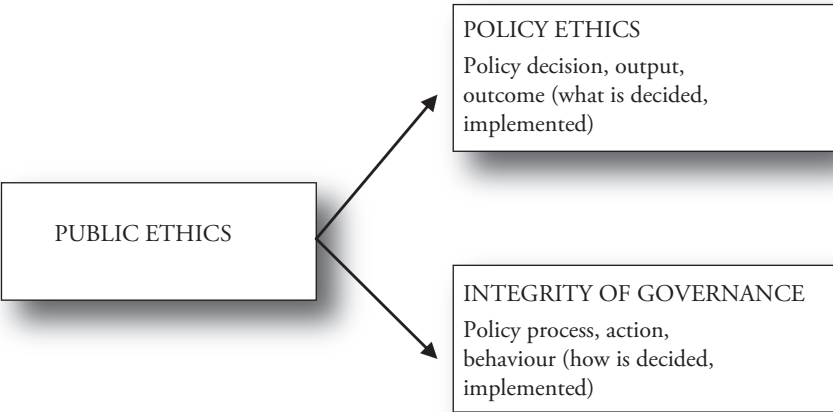


Figure 9.1 Policy ethics, and the ethics and integrity of governance

However, when we discuss ‘integrity’, the focus is not on policy content (output and outcome) but on the process of government or governance leading to a policy.¹⁰ Put

9 By carrying out cost-benefit analyses of projects involving changes in road safety, researchers have made various estimations of the value of a statistical life (VOSL). For example, Dionne and Lanoie (2004) concluded that a VOSL of 5 million dollars is acceptable, whereas in their meta-analysis, Taylor and Mozrek (2002) put the number between \$2 and \$3 million.

10 There are clear parallels with the extensive discussion on types of justice: procedural justice, which involves the fairness of decision-making processes; distributive justice, which concerns fairness in the distribution of rights or resources; and corrective justice, which addresses fairness in the rectification of wrongdoings (Treviño, & Weaver, 2001).

bluntly, a decision to go to war or refrain from it, like the choice of more liberal or more conservative policies on abortion, can be made with or without integrity. Thus, integrity is at stake, and subject to possible violation, whenever government functionaries are involved in preparing, taking and implementing decisions. Do conflicts of interest exist because of promised campaign funds, for example? Do only specific lobbyists or interest groups have access to decision-makers? Is the law in accordance with the promises made during election time?

The distinction between policy ethics and integrity is related to the different aspects and phases of the policy-making and implementation processes, which are often modelled in terms of agenda setting and formulation, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation of policies (see Figure 9.2). This model, however, presents a simplified picture in that few processes proceed in orderly phases with rational consideration of what to do and how to do it. Nevertheless, dividing the whole process into discrete phases or aspects facilitates more detailed identification of the elements of ethics and integrity mentioned above.

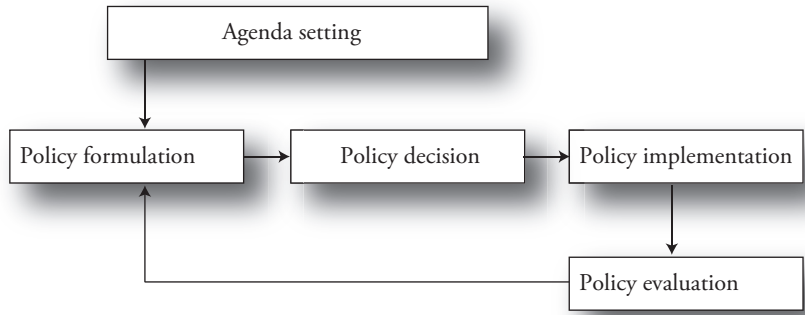


Figure 9.2 Policy process model

Every phase of the process can be related to the ethics and integrity of the involved actors and/or policy. This is illustrated by US President Barack Obama’s agenda setting for his initiatives on ethics. Not only has Obama continuously stated since becoming President that he will strive to lead the most open, transparent, and accountable government in history, but on his first full day in office (January 21, 2009), he signed executive orders that put in place ethics guidelines for staff members of his administration. These orders – which concentrate on lobbyists’ influence in Washington, the ‘revolving doors’ that carry special interest influence in and out of the government¹¹ – speak volumes about the unethical conduct that this administration seeks to ban. Thus, even though we focus here on policy formulation, decision-making and policy

11 See, for example, www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/ExecutiveOrder-EthicsCommitments/.

implementation, we recognise that the struggle over the agenda is always a crucial part of the policy process.

9.5 Policy-making: formulation and decision-making

The *ethics* aspect of policy and policy-making first concerns the ethics of the decisional content and its consequences (policy formulation and decision). For example, was invading Iraq an ethical action? Is private security sector involvement in community policing acceptable (see Chapters 3 (Den Boer) and 4 (Verweij))? Is a liberal abortion policy ethical? These are major questions to do with politics and administration, sometimes referred to as ‘grand politics’, which, when accompanied by ethical deliberation, comprise ‘grand ethics’.¹²

The discourses on the ethics of policy concern both the applicable norms and values (deontology, appropriateness) and the consequences of the alternatives (teleological, outcomes). Although both are important, much of the inevitable discussion and confusion in ethics discourses is related to the different and irreconcilable conclusions resulting from the two types of reasoning. Such confusion is amply illustrated in recent Dutch history by an independent committee’s investigation into the war in Iraq.¹³ On the one hand, the committee decided that invading Iraq was wrong because international law dictates that military action requires a UN resolution justifying the use of force. On the other hand, they decided that it was defensible on the grounds that it would save many lives threatened by Saddam Hussein’s regime (for a discussion on the ethics of intelligence in relation to the Iraq war: Commissie van Onderzoek Besluitvorming Irak, 2010).

The *integrity* aspect concerns the process of policy-making: Was the conduct of the functionaries responsible for taking the decisions in accordance with the relevant moral values, norms and rules? As was clearly illustrated by the investigation into the integrity of the Dutch government’s decision-making on the Iraq war, this aspect applies to all phases of the policy process. Specifically, the committee concluded strongly that the ministers responsible for the decision to support the war did not give it appropriate attention.¹⁴ In fact, they found that the main tenets of the policy were set in a meeting that took less than one hour between then Foreign Affairs Minister Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (later secretary general of NATO) and his top civil servants. Such decision-making is clearly in direct opposition to the relevant moral norms and values of ‘good policy-making’ (formulated, in the case of politicians, primarily by citizens). However, it should also be clear that any individual judgment of whether

12 A concept that came to mind thinking about petty and ‘grand corruption’ (Johnston, 1996; Moody Stuart, 1997).

13 www.nrc.nl/international/Features/article2458273.ece/Report_answers_questions_on_Iraq (May 15, 2010).

14 www.nrc.nl/international/Features/article2458273.ece/Report_answers_questions_on_Iraq (May 15, 2010).

such conduct lacks integrity should be independent of an individual's position on the decisional content and its ethical aspects. That is, whether a government stumbles hastily into a decision to endorse a military intervention or stumbles hastily into a decision not to give its support, the actors involved fail to guarantee the integrity of the decision-making system.

9.6 Policy implementation

How are 'ethics' and 'integrity' related in policy implementation, that is, in all activities to do with carrying out the policy (Dye, 1998, p. 330). As in policy-making, the 'ethics of implementation' can be distinguished from the 'integrity of implementation'. Specifically, the first refers to the content of the moral norms and values attached to carrying out the policy; the second to the actual behaviour of the functionaries and organisations (implementers) in doing so. In the implementation phase, ethics and integrity are more directly connected than in other phases because the content or style of implementation and the conduct of the actors involved are intertwined. In fact, the ethics of this implementation phase involve judging the action: to act with integrity is to act in accordance with the relevant moral values and norms.

Accordingly, the 'ethics of interrogation in a war against terrorism' will consist of the values and norms related to interrogation in general, and of interrogation of 'terrorists' in particular. Thus, to avoid general misunderstanding, these ethics cannot be decided upon solely by the army, intelligence, and police leadership, even though the organisational framework is of course relevant. That is, when organisational norms and values differ from those generally accepted by society – particularly in the case of international norms and laws – the question becomes: Which norms and values are relevant and will prevail? On the other hand, when the relevant ethical framework is obvious, the ethics clearly dictate what the professional (the implementer) can and should do. In this latter case, even though special motivations or highly specific circumstances might produce a lack of clarity, the general framework is directly connected to actual implementation.

The same argument applies to the ethics of community policing. This policing strategy with and within local communities raises questions of 'good' (or 'bad') community policing in terms of such values as independence or impartiality. These questions will have to be answered applying the more general ethical framework for police officer conduct (including norms on collecting, handling and spreading of confidential information).

What, then, does acting with integrity mean for a local police officer working in a high crime neighbourhood? Can the officer share information with a local housing officer in return for information about a dangerous suspect living in one of the apartments under his jurisdiction? What is decisive for acting with or without integrity in this situation? The answer may be simple when the ethics of community policing clarifies

the norms that apply in this specific situation. Acting with integrity then means acting in accordance with those moral norms.

This example also shows that the decisional and policy *content* and the *action* and *decision-making* are more closely connected in the implementation phase than in other phases. Ethics and integrity are intertwined in this phase because the moral values and norms more specifically concern the behaviour of policy implementers.

	Ethics	Integrity
Policy	Policy Ethics	–
Policy-making	Ethics of policy making	Decision-maker integrity
Policy implementation	Ethics of policy implementation	Implementer integrity street-level integrity

Table 9.2 Ethics and Integrity in Policy, Policy-making and Policy Implementation

9.6.1 Rotten Apple

When the distinction between the ethics and integrity of policy-makers and policy implementers proves useful, one possibly dangerous side-effect deserves attention. That is, when a police officer or interrogator fails to comply with ethical and integrity standards or when something goes morally wrong in the implementation phase, it does not mean that the responsible policy-makers can lean back and blame the implementer as the ‘rotten apple’ (De Graaf, 2007; Kish-Gephart, Harrison & Treviño, 2010; Punch 2009). On the contrary, as empirical research has shown, ethics management and leadership are important factors in explaining both integrity violations and the absence of adequate integrity policies (Lasthuizen 2008); therefore, the integrity of policy-making and policy implementation also depends heavily on policy-maker involvement in leadership during all phases of the process.

9.6.2 Connective Relations

It may be useful to reflect and theorise further on the interrelation of the different types of ethics and integrity. How, for example, do the ethics of policy and decisions (grand ethics) relate to the ethics of decision-making and the integrity of the decision-makers? Judgments about the ethics and/or integrity of functionaries should clearly distinguish between the different aspects. Views on whether a decision is good or bad cannot be generalised to a conclusion about the level of the decision-makers integrity. A relationship nevertheless exists between the two types of judgments. When there is far-reaching moral consensus about policy content and outcome – that is, when policy ethics are clear and undisputed – this consensus on policy ethics is important for the support of conclusions about the integrity of the policy maker and policy process. In

contrast, when there is discussion and a genuine lack of consensus about policy content, the process of governance should be judged more exclusively by the moral criteria applicable to that process (ethics of policy making).

9.7 Integrity and Ethics in the Security Sector

Are ‘ethics’ and ‘integrity’ in the security and safety sector uniquely different from ‘ethics’ and ‘integrity’ in other public or private sectors? Although many agree that they are, the supporting arguments differ (Barker & Carter, 1996; Crank & Caldero, 2000; Fijnaut & Huberts, 2002; Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic, & Habermeld, 2004; Kutnjak Ivković, 2005; Pollock, 1998).

For example, one possible answer is ‘Yes’ because the state and the public entrust the military and police force with a monopoly over violence (Verweij, see Chapter 6; Baarda & Verweij, 2009), in this manner emphasising their special powers. For the same reason, the consequences for the subjects of policies implemented by these sectors are more far-reaching than those implemented in other arenas: people are killed and imprisoned by the powers entrusted to the military and the police.

Another line of reasoning is broader: we have put our trust in these institutions to uphold our society’s common values, norms, rules and interests, and to act against individuals or organisations that violate these rules, norms and values (using a variety of activities and interventions, including violence). The use of violence introduces an extra dimension, but the fundamental aspect is that the police and the military are entrusted with a far-reaching mandate and responsibility which makes their violations of public trust more damaging than violations in other sectors.

One final argument in favour of police exclusiveness focuses on the temptations that seduce officers to break rules, cross the line, and act unethically. Policing is seen as ‘dirty work’ on the edge of good and bad and is thus incomparable to any other work in any other sector.

All such arguments can be considered legitimate and are, obviously, related. Above all, even though the security sector’s work is highly specialised and professionalised, its exceptional powers and far-reaching consequences for citizens should make us extra critical of all aspects of ethics and integrity in the security and safety policy process. It also signals the importance of ‘implementation ethics’ and ‘street-level integrity’, because of the ‘street level’ character of police (and military) work. The powers are used by implementers, the consequences for the policy ‘subjects’ are direct and often far reaching.

9.8 Framework of Ethics and Integrity in the Policy Process

Obviously, many of the ‘ethics and security’ topics in this book involve the ‘grand ethics’ (or ‘grand politics’) that relate to crucial decisions on war and peace, and life

and death (military) or to the strategies and policies of the security and safety sector (including the police) and the values that are at stake in this context. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of military and police powers, and the consequences for the people subjected to these powers, besides making grand ethics a crucial issue, introduces other ethics and integrity dilemmas with a more specific focus: the conduct of individuals and the groups or organisations to which they belong. The many features of ethics and integrity pertaining to the security sector are summarised in Figure 9.3.

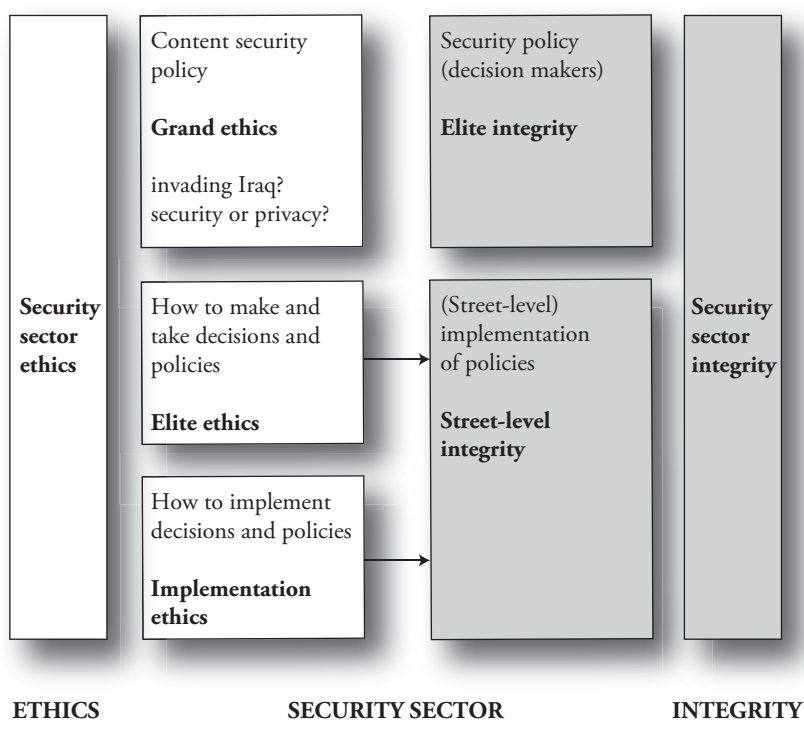


Figure 9.3 Grand, elite and street-level ethics and integrity in the security sector

Five categories of ethics and integrity are distinguished, based on a number of dimensions. The first dimension is the content of policy decisions versus the formulation and implementation of these decisions. The second is policy formulation and decision-making versus the implementation of policy decisions. The third is ethics as the relevant moral values and norms versus integrity as behaving in accordance with these moral values, norms and rules. Grand ethics concerns the ethics of policy content. Is the policy content ethically acceptable? Is it right or wrong, good or bad to participate in the war in Afghanistan, or to give priority to the fight against organised crime, or to engage in privatizing prisons?

Elite ethics is the second type¹⁵. Elite ethics concerns the moral norms and values concerning important decision-making processes. Which values and norms are at stake in that process, how important are legitimacy, incorruptibility, accountability and transparency? The values and norms of decision-making can be found in different sources (e.g. the law, codes of conduct, informal norms, and expert opinions).

A third type of ethics and integrity points to the actual decision-making process. How did the makers and takers of the decision actually operate? Were their actions in accordance with the relevant moral norms and values, then they acted with integrity. Did they violate the law, or applicable codes of conduct or more informal norms, comprising an integrity violation (judgments always depend on the context)? We may speak of 'grand' integrity of decision-makers when they succeed in safeguarding moral values and norms in making crucial decisions and/or always do so in their decision-making behaviour (as opposed to 'grand corruption').

The ethics of implementation is the fourth type. What moral values, norms, rules and procedures are relevant for the actions and behaviour of people and organisations responsible for the implementation of policies? Implementation ethics, or street-level ethics, clarifies what is morally acceptable in activities such as interrogation, taking prisoners, intelligence gathering, handling arrests, or reacting to suspected violence.

The fifth type is street-level integrity. Do implementers of policy operate in accordance with the relevant moral values, norms, rules and procedures? If not, they are committing an integrity violation. Many types of integrity violations can be distinguished. Previously, a typology was presented of 10 types of integrity violations. The types include bribing, conflict of interest, misuse of power, discrimination and intimidation and off-duty misbehaviour. All types are relevant for both elite and street-level integrity.

To sum up, the developing field of 'ethics and security' is an exciting field of study and reflection, but one that is configured by complexity and comprehensiveness. The topics addressed can be characterised as an exploration in this new field. In this book, different categories of ethics and integrity were dealt with, in different policy arenas in the security and safety sector. This objective of this chapter was to unravel the Gordian knot of concepts and phenomena. Future research and theory building will have to demonstrate the usefulness of the presented framework for the study of ethics, integrity and security.

15 See Van der Wal (2010), for an extensive overview of the concept of elite ethics.

References

- Alatas, S.H. (1990). *Corruption: Its nature, causes and functions*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Andrei, T., Matei, A., & Rosca, I.Gh. (2009). *The Corruption – An Economic and Social Analysis*. The Economica Publishing House.
- Baarda, T. van & Verweij, D. (2009). *The Moral dimensions of asymmetrical warfare: Counter-terrorism, western values, military ethics*. Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Barker, T., & Carter, D.L. (1996). *Police deviance* (3rd ed.). Cincinnati: Anderson.
- Benaissa, H. (1993). Corruption and the socio-cultural context. In M. Punch, E. Kolthoff, K. Van de Vijver & B. Van Vliet (Eds.), *Coping with corruption in a borderless world* (pp. 59-75). Deventer: Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers.
- Bossaert, D. & Demmke, C. (2005). *Main Challenges in the Field of Ethics and Integrity in the EU Member States*. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration (www.eipa.nl).
- Bovens, M.A.P., Hart, P. 't, Twist, M.J.W. van, & Rosenthal, U. (2001). *Openbaar bestuur. Beleid, organisatie en politiek* (6th ed.). Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer.
- Caiden, G.E. (1988). Toward a general theory of official corruption. *Asian Journal of Public Administration*, 10(1), 3-26.
- Carter, S.L. (1996). *Integrity*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Commissie van Onderzoek Besluitvorming Irak (2010). Boom: Amsterdam.
- Cooper, T.L. (Ed.) (2001). *Handbook of administrative ethics* (2nd ed.). New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Cox III, R.W. (Ed.) (2009). *Ethics and Integrity in Public Administration. Concepts and Cases*. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Crank, J.P., & Caldero, M.A. (2000). *Police ethics. The corruption of noble cause*. Cincinnati: Anderson.
- Dionne, G., & Lanoie, P. (2004). Public choice and the value of a statistical life for cost-benefit analysis: The case of road safety. *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*, 38(2), 247-274.
- Dye, T.R. (1998). *Understanding public policy* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Fijnaut C., & Huberts, L.W.J.C. (2002). *Corruption, integrity and law enforcement*. The Hague: Kluwer Law.
- Frederickson, H.G. & Ghore, R.K. (Eds.) (2005). *Ethics in Public Management*. Armonk NY & London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Graaf, G. de (2007). Causes of corruption: Towards a contextual theory of corruption. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 31(1), 39-86.
- Heidenheimer, A., & Johnston, M. (Eds.) (2002). *Political corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (3rd ed.). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

- Heidenheimer, A.J., Johnston, M., Levine, & V.T. (Eds.) (1989). *Political corruption: A handbook*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Huberts, L.W.J.C., Pijl, D., & Steen, A. (1999). Integriteit en corruptie. In C. Fijnaut, E. Muller & U. Rosenthal (Eds.), *Politie. Studies over haar werking en organisatie* (pp. 433-472). Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom.
- Huberts, L.W.J.C., Jurkiewicz, C.L., & Maesschalck, J. (Eds.) (2008). *Ethics and integrity of governance: Perspectives across frontiers*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Johnson, R.A. (Ed.) (2004). *The Struggle Against Corruption*. New York & Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnston, M. (1996). The search for definitions: The vitality of politics and the issue of corruption. *International Social Science Journal*, 48(3), 321-335.
- Johnston, M. (2005). *Syndromes of corruption: Wealth, power, and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A. & Mastruzzi, M. (2009). *Governance matters: Volume 8. Aggregate and individual governance indicators, 1996–2008* (June 29, 2009). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 4978. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1424591>.
- Kish-Gephart, J., Harrision. D.A. & Treviño, L.K. (2010). Bad Apples, Bad Cases, and Bad Barrels: Meta-Analytic Evidence About Sources of Unethical Decisions At Work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(1), 1-31.
- Klitgaard, R. (1988). *Controlling corruption*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Klockars, C.B., Kutnjak Ivkovic, S., & Haberfeld, M.R. (Eds.) (2004). *The contours of police integrity*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kolthoff, E.W. (2007). *Ethics and new public management: Empirical research into the effects of businesslike government on ethics and integrity*. The Hague: Boom Legal Publishers.
- Kutnjak Ivković, S. (2005). *Fallen blue knights: Controlling police corruption*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lamboo, T. (2005). *Integriteitsbeleid van de Nederlandse politie (The integrity policy of the Dutch police force)*. Amsterdam: VU University.
- Lasthuizen, K. (2008). *Leading to integrity: Empirical research into the effects of leadership on ethics and integrity*. Amsterdam: VU University.
- Lawton, A., & Doig, A. (2006). Researching ethics for public service organisations: The view from Europe. *Public Integrity*, 8(1), 11-34.
- Menzel, D.C. (2005). State of the art of empirical research on ethics and integrity of governance. In H.G. Frederickson & R.K. Ghore (Eds.), *Ethics in public management* (pp. 16-46). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Moody-Stuart, G. (1997). *Grand corruption: How business bribes damage developing*. Oxford, UK: WorldView.
- Pollock, J.M. (1998). *Ethics in crime and justice: Dilemmas and decisions* (3rd ed.). Belmont CA: Wadsworth.

- Pope, J. (2000). *National integrity systems: The Transparency International source book*. Berlin: Transparency International.
- Punch, M. (2009). *Police Corruption. Deviance, accountability and reform in policing*. Devon UK: Willan.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1999). *Corruption and government: Causes, consequences and reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Six, F.E., Bakker, F.G.A. de & Huberts, L.W.J.C. (2007). Judging a Corporate Leader's Integrity: An Illustrated Three-Component Model. *European Management Journal*, 25(3): 185-194.
- Smith, B.C. (2007). *Good governance and Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stiglitz, J.E. (2010). *Freefall: America, free markets, and the sinking of the world economy*. New York: Norton.
- Taylor, L., & Mozrek, J. (2002). What determines the value of a life? A meta-analysis. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21(2), 253-270.
- Thompson, D.F. (1995). *Ethics in Congress. From Individual to Institutional Corruption*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Treviño, L.K. & Weaver, G.R. (2001). Organizational justice and ethics program 'follow-through': influences on employees' harmful and helpful behavior. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 11(4), 651-671.
- Wal, Z. van der (2008). *Value solidity: Differences, similarities and conflicts between the organisational values of government and business*. Amsterdam: VU University (Enschede: Printpartners Ipskamp).
- Wal, Z. van der (2010). Elite Ethics. Values and Motives of Those with Public Power. Paper presented at the Biennial Public Values Workshop, 10-12 June, Leiden, the Netherlands.